LABOUR MONTHLY

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ARMS AND THE MAN

The Editor

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THE BEECHING PLAN

Dave Bowman

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'VULCAN'

What are we here for, Mr. Woodcock?

★

A Message for Aldermaston, Diana Collins
Boyle or Burnham, M. Robinson

APRIL 1963

Two Shillings

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LABOUR MONTHLY

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DEAR READERS:

No Longer Angerless

For woe had grown into will and wrath was bared of its sheath,
And stark in the streets of London stood the crop of dragon's teeth.

WHEN A READER SAID that our last number was 'a real March wind, instinct with reality', I thought of 'The Message of the March Wind', which opens William Morris's great poem about Communism, *The Pilgrims of Hope* (1885-6), whence this quotation comes. Morris is standing on the kerb 'in this grim net of London', sadly watching soldiers being marched off to war. Suddenly he sees the street in the years to come, when at last 'Hope is awake in the faces, angerless now no more'. With the Lobbies of employed and unemployed to Parliament these past two months, the Aldermaston March and the demonstrations against Polaris at Holy Loch, how many hundreds of thousands watching them from the kerb, could also glimpse the gleam of Socialism that Morris saw? And how urgent it is that in deep anger they should step down off that kerb? Miners, railwaymen, engineers, and textile workers march to save their jobs, young people because they hate the bomb. Those marches should converge and merge. The only guarantee of lasting success in either case is the victory—soon—of Peace and Socialism. The more of those on the kerb, as well as those who march, who understand all it means, and take their fight further, the sooner we shall reach the time when 'the new peace dawns on the world'; it is desperately overdue. All marchers should be given the chance to read progressive literature, so that the discussion goes on, long after their march is over and they are home again, at the old humdrum, preparing for the next step. To every old timer on these marches I would say: 'Remember what it was like, your first march, and how eager you were to learn more and to carry exultation in the strength of unity into your daily life'. To each first-time marcher, I would say: 'You are making history today: *don't stop!*'

It is time to learn fast and to teach fast. That is what we try to do in *L.M.* Today's events prove us right over and over again. A *Lincolnshire* reader, 'one of the 900,000', said of his dole queue: 'What a lesson in political economy, and what an opportunity to present our views!' A *Surrey* reader writes: *'L.M.* must be a tremendous help to the grave-diggers of capitalism the world over'. Letters from two *Nottinghamshire miners,* one young and one not so young: *'L.M.'s* real value must be priceless to all who seek enlightenment at whatever stage of growth they may have reached'. And the other: 'What readers have to understand is that you could get a million from the capitalist exploiters if you would just shut up and never print another word; but luckily for me and my class you are not in business for profit or personal gain, but for the liberation of mankind. And whatever the difficulties, you must feel that money just can't buy the knowledge that you are working for

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peace and socialism'. Yes! *L.M.* is the magazine that Money can't buy; but *you* can. We have got out an attractive folder called 'In Times Like These You Need the Labour Monthly', pointing out why the active worker for Peace and Socialism cannot afford to be without it, and showing who reads it and who writes it. It can help in winning new readers, and also when writing to the Library Committee if *L.M.* is not in your local library. It includes a form for a free sample copy to be sent to someone you think can be won. Write for copies of the leaflet to use, even if only two or three. In times like these, indeed, we have to spread wide the influence of such people as write in this issue, for example.

An unusual letter, from an *Australian* reader. During the recent series of cricket Test Matches, some English types, sporting the old school tie, flew out to see the game (£750 per head). 'One was quoted as saying he had also come to look at his Australian investments, which were "doing bloody badly"—nothing about the toilers sweating under the hot Australian sun to produce his dividends. There and then I decided to start with a small investment towards socialism in our time, through your —and our—indispensable *L.M.*'. And he 'invested' £5. From *Essex,* a new reader ('since last January only') sends a gift to our 'good and honest cause. You are planting the seeds of knowledge that will be responsible for the inevitable uprooting of the Tory weeds grown from our society'. Welcome to you all.

ANGELA TUCKETT.

London.

Unlike many price rises the need for this one is apparent, and there never was a greater need for the clear firm direction the journal provides for the working class.

NELLIE USHER.

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Notes of the Month

ARMS AND THE MAN

We have made a successful start. When the tests are completed, as they soon will be, we shall be in the same position as the United States or Soviet Russia. We shall have made and tested the massive weapon. It will be possible then to discuss on equal terms.

Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, speech to Conservative Women's Conference, Albert Hall, May 22, 1957.

SUCH were the illusions of the rulers of Britain only a few years ago. All those illusions are vanished now. The veriest Tory booby no longer dare offer them. The Conservative Women must find other comfort than the sweet dream of 'equality' through possession of 'the massive weapon'. Nassau ended that. Even those uppish West European powers have the insolence to blackball Britain's grovelling request to be accepted as an equal. We have reached a stage when the old Munichite *Times*, champing the fruits of its own past follies, has to warn its readers to remember that Britain is no longer a first class power, and that 'there is no divine right whether she will without exertion automatically stay a leading second class power'. True, dear Thunderer, whose one-time thunder has now become a hesitant falsetto squeak. The towering opium-cloud of Tory illusions, from the myth of 'independent nuclear power' establishing an imaginary 'equality' with the United States or the Soviet Union, down to the strutting boasts of magical permanent prosperity and full employment, has vanished in smoke. All that remains is to pay the bill—until such time as others take over the bankrupt inheritance to end these shameful conditions and build anew Britain's true place in the modern advancing world.

Unholy Grail

But has the lesson been learned? This is the question of questions —and it applies also to the present stage of official Labour policy. The problems of Britain's reconstruction cannot be separated from the reassessment of Britain's position in the new changing world situation. The cardinal problems of foreign policy and arms policy, govern the resources for the ever more urgent economic reconstruction at home. Undeterred by previous fiascoes, the Tory rulers of Britain still pursue their Unholy Grail. They still clutch at their elusive mirage of the 'independent nuclear deterrent' which vanishes

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over the horizon every time they try to grasp it. One nuclear 'wonder weapon' succeeds another, in more rapid succession than the changes in ladies' fashions, each to be thrown aside after vast expenditure as obsolete before it is completed, and each more costly than the last. Ministers of Defence replace one another in a kaleidoscopic series even more rapidly than Chancellors of the Exchequer.

'Slithering Into Ruin'

Thorneycroft, after resigning five years ago in protest against Britain 'slithering into ruin' under a burden of arms costs of £1,450 million crippling the already overstrained economic structure, returns as Minister of Defence to put through a record arms budget of £1,900 million or £450 million more than at the time of his 'slithering into ruin' resignation. Maudling is given the job of putting through a so-called 'expansionist' budget of electoral gimmicks and tax reductions, imitating Kennedy's deficit budget, to give a boost to the ailing economy, only to discover that sterling begins to wobble, involving an initial cost of £30-£40 million to prop up, while forecasts of an impending devaluation of the pound extend. Devaluation would mean a general cut in all real wages, salaries, pensions and benefits, alongside fat profits for the monopolists and speculators. This battle over sterling is only one expression of the sharpening free-for-all battle which is developing between all the Western imperialist powers. The Franco-German Axis through De Gaulle defies the United States, while Adenauer plays up both ends to blackmail the United States into more concessions, and Kennedy talks darkly of impending economic 'disaster'. The post-war 'stabilisation' of Western capitalism under American overlordship is over. In this new cut-throat conflict, with no holds barred, between the Western imperialist powers the hapless Macmillan-Heath Tory Government, which had staked all its cards on entering into the Common Market, has no longer a clue what policy to follow. It is time to take the helm from their hands, in order to enter on the new policy which can alone offer a future for Britain in the new world situation.

A Prediction Fulfilled

Eleven years ago a leading Marxist theorist, in his last book a year before his death, published in 1952, in the year of the height of American Nato domination, Marshall Plan control and the Korean War dragging in armed levies from the satellites, prophesied

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the future revolt of the Western European capitalist powers against the domination of the United States:

> Outwardly, everything would seem to be 'going well'; the U.S.A. has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the U.S.A. and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to 'go well' for 'all eternity'; that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly; that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development.
>
> Take, first of all, Britain and France. Undoubtedly, they are imperialist countries. Undoubtedly, cheap raw materials and secure markets are of paramount importance to them. Can it be assumed that they will endlessly tolerate the present situation in which, under the guise of 'Marshall Plan aid', Americans are penetrating into the economies of Britain and France and trying to convert them into adjuncts of the United States economy, and American capital is seizing raw materials and markets in the British and French colonies and thereby plotting disaster for the high profits of the British and French capitalists. Would it not be truer to say that capitalist Britain, and, after her, capitalist France, will be compelled in the end to break from the embrace of the U.S.A. and enter into conflict with it in order to secure an independent position and, of course, high profits.
>
> (J. V. Stalin, 'Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.')

Presage of De Gaulle.

Britain and France

A Marxist prediction differs from Old Moore's Almanac most characteristically in this respect, that, while Old Moore offers future events and dates with engaging impudence, in the case of a Marxist prediction it is the general principle and trend of future development which is painstakingly and accurately diagnosed, and in the outcome is proved by the event and subsequent fulfilment, but the form and detail of fulfilment is always far more complicated and shows variations which could not be anticipated at the time. Eleven years ago it was understandable to assume that capitalist Britain, as the second capitalist power, would lead the way, when the change came, to resist American domination, and that capitalist France would follow. The event has reversed this order. In the Suez War in 1956 British and French imperialism did combine in opposition to American imperialism, with Britain playing the leading role, but went down in ignominious defeat before the strength of the new world of socialism and national liberation. Friction between the British and American imperialists has been ceaseless in every sphere (Congo, Middle East, shipping, tariffs, nuclear control). But

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Britain under Tory rule has sunk lower and lower throughout this decade in economic weakening and international humiliation, and has in consequence for the moment fallen to the degrading role of trying to curry favour as the American servitor and jackal against the resurgent capitalism in Western Europe. It is the France of De Gaulle, on the other hand, which has during these years participated with the stronger West German monopolists in a temporary economic boom, and which has at the moment taken the lead in openly defying the United States. While the deeper contradiction of interests, not only of the British people, but also of the British national capitalists (those not yet Americanised, like Churchill) and world imperialist interests against American domination is inescapable, and will further develop, the immediate venom of the British capitalists is directed against the rival French capitalists and specifically De Gaulle—even to the extent of giving public encouragement to any leader of gangsters pledged to liquidate him by physical means.*

Law of Uneven Development

Once again the law of uneven development of capitalism is being demonstrated in the present shift of relations within the Western imperialist camp. During the decade and a half since the second world war the United States held the unchallenged dominant position in the imperialist world. The structure of alliances corresponded to this. This period was characterised by the 'cold war' diplomatic-strategic system of alliances organised by the United States through Nato, Cento, Seato and OAS, and embracing the other powers within this orbit as satellite powers. International relationships found expression almost entirely in the direct confrontation of the American-controlled Nato system and the socialist world. During this period even the claim to 'non-alignment' of newly independent states was condemned by American statesmen of the Dulles school as unacceptable and equivalent to anti-Western orientation. In its open proclaimed aim and formal character the 'cold war' alliance system was directed against the new world of socialism and national liberation. But, just as the 'Anti-Comintern' Axis of Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan covered in reality, not

*The familiar hand of the British Secret Service has been discerned by the French press in the curious episode of Bidault's 'illegal' visit to London, parading the central streets and restaurants, meeting the press and being interviewed by the B.B.C. before the millions of a television audience—all the time of course with complete bland innocence and professions of ignorance by the Home Secretary and the police authorities. Let us hope that this time James Bond does not get his man. The question of the replacement of personal dictatorship by democracy in France is a question for the French people to decide; and the French miners and railwaymen are showing the way forward for the whole people.

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merely the expansionist aims against the Soviet Union and China, but also the expansionist aims against the dominant possessing imperialist powers, the United States, Britain and France, so the U.S.-controlled Nato 'cold war' system against 'the menace of communism' has covered also the expansionist aims of United States imperialism to penetrate and dominate the rest of the capitalist world.

Era of the American Empire

During this first period after the second world war the other imperialist powers, the defeated German and Japanese imperialism, the in fact defeated Italy, and the former Vichy France, and the weaker joint victor, Britain, all in practice accepted this satellite position in relation to the United States, despite considerable anti-American currents and frequent contradictions mainly kept below the surface. This was because they were all prostrate from the war, while the United States had suffered no direct war damage, but had accumulated gigantic profits and enlarged its productive machinery to overwhelming superiority. German imperialism required the lavish economic and financial aid of the American monopolies and American diplomatic backing for the repudiation of Potsdam, formation of the West German State and rearmament to emerge anew as a challenging imperialist power. France was economically and financially dependent, once its rulers had accepted the Marshall Plan, and precariously holding on to a very weak position as one of the 'Big Four'. British imperialism, though hard hit by the war, was still exercising an active world role as a rival imperialist power to the United States, but recognised that the hard fact of American economic, financial and strategic superiority made it necessary for Britain to operate within the framework of American overlordship in order to try to hold together the remains of the old Empire in the new conditions. As Churchill had frankly recognised to Roosevelt in 1941: 'You know that we know that without America the Empire won't stand'. Hence the aim of Britain's leaders not to challenge directly American imperialism, despite the ceaseless actual conflicts, but to maintain the 'special relationship' as the recognised second power and privileged ally. A vanished memory today in the era of Kennedy.

Shift in International Relations

All this pattern of international relationships has begun to change in the recent period. The United States, though still the strongest

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economically and financially, has no longer the same overwhelming economic and financial superiority. The West European and Japanese imperialist powers have in general recovered from the wounds of the war and advanced rapidly in economic and financial strength during the past decade, while the United States and Britain have relatively lost ground. This change in the balance of international economic relations within the capitalist world may be measured by the change in the totals of the gold and foreign exchange reserves of the main imperialist powers between 1951 and 1962.

GOLD AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES 1951-1962
(in million dollars)

	1951	1962 (*third quarter*)
United States	22,873	16,532
Continental Western Europe ...	7,445	24,420
Britain	2,374	2,798

Thus a decade ago the United States held three times the reserves of Continental Western Europe. Today the latter holds one and a half times the amount held by the United States. Britain, on the other hand, has remained stagnant, and by today has fallen behind the level, not only of the United States, but also of West Germany, France and Italy. This characteristic example of the law of unequal development of capitalism has found its reflection in the moves towards a shift in international political relations. The West European powers, and especially France and West Germany, have moved to a new self-confidence and independent action in the international sphere, with a measure of challenge (in the case of France, openly expressed) to the domination of the United States. Britain, on the other hand, has weakened in standing equally in relation to the United States and to Western Europe, and is confronted with the most critical problems of reappraisal of policy for the future.

Franco-German Axis

What of the new De Gaulle-Adenauer Axis? Certainly the French-German Military Pact, signed immediately after the abrupt ending of the Common Market negotiations with Britain, pointedly ignores the Nato military structure and in that sense defies the United States domination of Western Europe. But the new Axis also reveals that the Six represent no harmonious 'integration' of supra-national capitalism, as the dreamers imagine, but that here also, as Lenin showed in respect of all the strivings of each imperialism to expand towards ultra-imperialism, the only rule is the

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domination of the stronger over the weaker. Nor are contradictions lacking between the two 'partners' of the Axis, as well as between the Axis and the other Four. On the face of it, we have here a resurrection of the Hitlerite 'New Order in Europe', based on the collaboration of Nazi Germany with Fascist Italy and Vichy France, and proclaiming the economic, political and military 'integration' of Continental Western Europe against the Soviet Union on the East and against Britain and the United States on the West (confronting a 'common threat' on their borders equally from the East and from the West, as De Gaulle put it in his famous broadcast of January 14), similarly the moves to draw in Franco Spain. Certainly the form is changed. The Hitlerite 'New Order' was reached by the military victory of Nazi Germany. However, the capitulation of Vichy France was a deliberate choice of the French ruling class to prefer co-operation with Nazi Germany rather than popular anti-fascist resistance. The main economic-political basis of the support which established the personal dictatorship of De Gaulle supplanting democracy in France is the same as supported Vichy, representing the closely interlocking cartel interests of the big coal, iron and steel monopolies and the reactionary circles associated with them.

Contradictions of the Axis

But within the revived Axis there is no question where the decisive power finally lies. In economic and military strength West Germany is in reality the predominant partner, though willing for the moment to concede the role of public leader and spokesman to De Gaulle, so long as West Germany is still building up its position and manoeuvring to secure nuclear arms. And it is here that the real conflict of interests within the Axis becomes visible. West Germany still requires American support for its aims in Europe, and especially for its illegal position in West Berlin. West Germany desires the retention of American troops, not for defence, but as a deposit to ensure the entanglement of the United States in any West German military adventures. De Gaulle, on the other hand, has made clear his desire to see the last of the American troops in Europe, and has already expelled the American nuclear bases and bombers (transferred of course to docile Britain). West Germany officially proclaims expansionist aims in Eastern Europe. De Gaulle, on the other hand, is aware of the menace of the stronger military power of German imperialism, and has no wish to see France dragged

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behind a German Eastern adventure. Hence De Gaulle has officially proclaimed French recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier—a recognition which is anathema to West Germany.

West German Militarist Menace

Both partners in this 'indissoluble' alliance, proclaimed at the moment of signing to be 'for eternity', are in fact playing a double game with one another. Adenauer is playing a double game simultaneously with France and with the United States, vowing eternal friendship with De Gaulle and his anti-American proclamations, and sending parallel messages of reassurance to the Kennedy Administration. Above all, West Germany is manoeuvring to secure nuclear arms through either of the two channels. Either through participation in the French nuclear arms development (possibly a far more direct participation than has been published; it may be noted that De Gaulle, when questioned in his press interview after the signing of the Military Treaty about West German access to nuclear arms, replied that that was entirely a matter for the West German Government to decide). Or through the United States offers of participation in a Nato 'multilateral' nuclear force.

Relations with the Soviet Union

On the other hand, De Gaulle is playing his double game in relation to West Germany and Eastern Europe. We have already noted his recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier as a barrier against the expanionist aims of West Germany in Eastern Europe. Immediately after the rupture of the Common Market negotiations with Britain De Gaulle held a prolonged interview with the Soviet Ambassador, and followed this up by signing a new Franco-Soviet Trade Treaty, expanding trade by 10 per cent. The entourage of De Gaulle has skilfully spread panic in Anglo-American circles by circulating unofficial hints that the 'Grand Design' will include a settlement with the Soviet Union. 'There is a growing belief', warned the *Sunday Times* on February 3, 'that De Gaulle's thinking has worked out a blueprint for a "grand European settlement" to include Soviet acceptance of a French-led Third Force in Europe in return for the exclusion of American influence'. Similarly the *Economist* on January 26 noted French 'reports of General De Gaulle's reputed Grand Design in foreign policy, to include an entente of some kind with Moscow to follow the American withdrawal from Europe, which seems to be his next aim'. It would be unwise to treat these inspired rumours as solid currency, although the immediate Anglo-

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American alarm at the possibility of a settlement is worthy of note. De Gaulle has concealed his ambiguous aims behind the characteristically oracular slogan 'Unity of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals'—which was also the slogan of the Hitlerite anti-Soviet campaign, but could be reinterpreted to imply a European security settlement to replace the division of Nato and the Warsaw Pact. However, the real menace in the situation is the advancing challenge of the West German neo-Nazi militarists, utilising equally the Axis and the American connection, to press their way forward to secure their supreme immediate objective of nuclear armament as the indispensable condition for their further offensive aims.

United States Fury

The fury of the United States Administration and spokesmen as they have seen their former West European satellites slipping from their grasp has not been concealed; nor have they found adequate consolation in the continuing servile role of Tory Britain. Just as the former Secretary of State and architect of Nato, Dean Acheson, had been chosen in December as the unofficial spokesman to let loose the offensive on Britain in his famous 'Britain is played out' speech in preparation for Nassau, so in March Acheson was let loose again to denounce De Gaulle. It is significant that he singled out for his main attack, not the exclusion of Britain from the Common Market (though this was also a check to the American Grand Design), but the possibility of a settlement with the Soviet Union such as would mean the liquidation of Nato. Declaring that 'the conception of a Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals is wholly at variance with the North Atlantic Treaty', he warned that 'a Gaullist Europe would mean a Europe under Soviet hegemony'—thereby revealing the aim of American policy to keep Europe divided in the same way as to 'make Asians fight Asians'. Already after the famous De Gaulle broadcast in January the Washington correspondent of the *Observer* was reporting the 'ill-concealed anger' and 'great bitterness' in the State Department and the feeling of American officials that 'their whole policy towards Europe will face ruin'. On February 7 President Kennedy in his press interview stated that it would be 'a disaster' if Europe and the United States were divided. On February 8 Walter Lippmann lamented:

> General De Gaulle has shattered the post-war structure of United States foreign policy, and we are launched on seas for which the old charts do not show us the way.

That lesson applies also for Britain.

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United States Dilemma

But what to do? Here the United States policy-makers, accustomed to giving orders and receiving instant obedience, are now finding themselves in a dilemma. Once the dollar was all-powerful. No longer. What threats, pressure or inducement can be effective in the new world situation? Lippmann tried threatening a return to isolationism:

> There could be no greater illusion than for Bonn and Paris to assume that they can act while the other Western nations will not react. If they now disrupt the alliance, they may well find that they have started a movement towards isolationism which they themselves will not like at all.

Ferocious Senators demanded the withdrawal of American troops from Europe. Indeed, a beginning was made, and with ostentatious publicity some 15,000 were withdrawn from the additional contingents which had been sent in the autumn of 1961. But then it was discovered that not only did this terrible threat arouse joy in the hearts of all the peoples of Europe, but it fitted in exactly with the Grand Design of General De Gaulle. Speedily President Kennedy issued an announcement that the American 400,000 troops would definitely remain in Europe so long as they were needed for 'the defence of Europe'. Perhaps the old methods of financial and economic pressure might prove more effective? But the dollar is now more shaky than the franc or the mark. A grandiose proposal was mooted for an alternative market combination of the rest of the 'free world' against the Common Market. President De Gaulle met the threat with elaborate contempt:

> 'America, using the United Kingdom, is trying to set up a huge free trade affair, including Ireland and Iceland', General De Gaulle said to members of the National Assembly at an Elysée reception. The French News Agency quotes him as saying: 'The Americans can no longer sell anything—or else they are selling for practically nothing—to the Africans, the South Americans, even the Arabs. So they are forced to try to sell to Europe which is in a position to pay.'
>
> (*The Times*, February 6, 1963.)

What expedient remains? The last alternative is dug out to try to offer a nuclear bribe.

Multilateral Façade

Cuba last October had shown that the decision of Western nuclear action lay in the sole hands of the American President, while the West European 'allies', including Britain, were in fact only onlookers who could be blown up at a moment's notice by an American

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decision in an American quarrel over an island in the American hemisphere where the American monopolists objected to a people maintaining a government of their own choice which nationalised assets of American monopolies. This experience had undoubtedly helped to precipitate the formation of the separate West European Axis (excluding the American bootlicker, Britain). To meet this situation, President Kennedy sought to offer a façade of West European nuclear participation in the shape of a proposal for a 'Nato multilateral nuclear force', consisting of surface ships with Polaris missiles and mixed crews under West European commanders, so that a West German might, for example, command a vessel armed with nuclear missiles. The final command of the force as a whole, and therefore decision for action, would of course be in the hands of the Nato Supreme Commander, that is, in American hands under control of the President.

Multilateral Confusion

The West Germans jumped at this proposition as another step towards getting their hands on nuclear weapons. Britain opposed it as a plan to wipe out the last remains of Britain's tattered claim to 'independent nuclear power', and proposed instead a 'Nato multinational nuclear force', to which the Nato powers would assign contingents, while retaining command of them and the right to withdraw them for separate use if so desired. This was stated to be in accord with the Nassau Agreement, although the published text of that Agreement, so far as published, is obscure on the point (on all other points the document states that 'the President and Prime Minister agreed', but on the question of the right of withdrawal of a force assigned to Nato the document only records that 'the Prime Minister pointed out' he wished to make this reservation). President Kennedy's envoy, Livingston Merchant, travelled from Bonn to Paris to Brussels to London to negotiate the plan. The longer the debate went on, the more confused the scheme became. From British sources an 'agreement in principle' was announced for 'a multinational force' (the British plan), pending preparation for 'a multilateral force' (the American plan). This was promptly denied by Washington. Behind all this flummery two practical issues stand out. The first is that the final decision of Western or 'Nato' nuclear action is in fact in the hands of the United States Supreme Commander and President, and that in consequence, so long as Britain and the other Nato European countries remain in Nato and accept

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the American nuclear bases and arms, they can be destroyed at a moment's notice by an American decision. This is a situation which it is obviously urgent to end. The second is that through all these complexities the West German militarists are steadily edging their way forward to the possession and control of nuclear weapons and warheads. The fight to prevent this outcome, which would be likely to mean the rapid launching of war in Europe, is urgent, and is bound up with the fight for a German Peace Treaty and a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe.

Economic Clouds on the Horizon

These sharpening conflicts within the Western imperialist camp are closely connected with the worsening economic situation which has gathered in varying degree over all the countries of Western capitalism—'miracles' and all. The trade battle grows more intense. President Kennedy has sounded the alarm that the successive 'recessions' since the war have come at shorter intervals, while the periods of 'recovery' or 'expansion' diminish:

> We cannot escape the fact that the period of expansion between the first and second post-war recessions lasted 45 months; the period between the second and third lasted 35 months; the period between the third and fourth lasted 25 months; and the American economy is now in its twenty-fourth month of recovery from the fourth post-war recession.
>
> (President Kennedy, speech to the American Bankers' Association, February 25, 1963.)

It should be borne in mind that what he calls 'recovery' includes an officially recorded total of five million unemployed. On March 13 President Kennedy returned to his theme in his message to Congress on his Budget proposing a record arms expenditure of £19,800 million, exceeding even the 1945 war-time peak, and a deficit of £4,249 million, and conjured up a spectre of impending 'disaster' for the American economy if his proposals were not adopted. In Western Germany Chancellor Adenauer stated in the Bundesrat on February 6 that 'the economic miracle has come to an end'. In Britain the fate of the million unemployed and the stagnation of the economy is now the centre of the political situation.

Britain's Hour of Opportunity

This is the situation which makes imperative a new policy for Britain. The Tory Government is bankrupt for a policy; having spent their time proving that no alternative to the Common Market could be satisfactory, they now find their tongues tied when they

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try to advocate their supposed 'alternative'. Yet the way forward is open. So far from being bankrupt for policy, Britain under a Government willing to pursue an independent line could hold the trump cards in the present international situation. In the present fluid international situation; as the old rigidity of the Nato structure has begun to crack; as the insanity of the nuclear strategy is becoming more and more manifest to all; as the problems of the economic situation and trade loom in the forefront: Britain can lead the way to a new orientation of policy; to peaceful co-existence; to the development of socialism and national liberation; to the vast expansion of trade which along these lines could give full scope to British industry; and on this basis open the way to the necessary economic and social reconstruction at home.

Labour's Testing Time

Will the opportunity be taken? The people are looking for a change. The latest 50 per cent Gallup Poll for Labour is a record. The prospect of a Labour Government draws within reach. But it will depend on the strength of the fight of the whole labour movement to ensure that such a change will bring at least the beginning of the real change in policy which is needed. It can be recognised that during his first weeks of leadership Harold Wilson, within the limits of acceptance of the inherited right-wing official policy, has taken certain fruitful initiatives, such as the emphasis on de facto recognition of the German Democratic Republic and participation in the Trafalgar Square rally against the supplying of arms to South Africa. Along traditional lines the projected visit to Moscow is preceded by a visit to Kennedy. But the official Labour policy is still tied to all the assumptions and fetters of Nato and American nuclear strategy which have proved so disastrous. Labour's official foreign policy spokesman, Gordon-Walker, can still declare in Parliament on March 5 that the only thing which 'deters Russia from making an attack on Britain' is the American 'first-strike' nuclear weapon. Indeed, the official Labour criticism of the Tory Government strategy is that it falls short in fulfilling the obligations of Nato, and that Britain should obey the behests of the Pentagon and leave the nuclear weapons to the United States and concentrate on supplying more foot-soldiers for Germany. No wonder *The Times* political correspondent on March 11 commented that 'Washington prefers Labour's defence policy' and that 'Transport House and the White House are more in unison'. This is certainly no way to solve

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Britain's problems, or even to diminish arms expenditure, especially when it is accompanied by tenderness for the big monopolies and devious plans for wage restraint. If the fourth Labour Government is not to lead to the same disillusionment and swing-back to Toryism as the third, then the battle of policy will have to be fought within the labour movement, alongside the battle against Toryism, in order to ensure that the present popular upsurge and prospective change of Government will open the way to the real change of policy which is essential.

Easter's Call to Action

Easter is the traditional season of trade union, co-operative and labour conferences. It is also now the time of the Aldermaston March. Let the fight for the new policy which is today so essential, equally for Britain's future and for the peace of the world, inspire alike the marchers of Aldermaston and the delegates of the conferences of the trade unions which will be meeting, of the Co-Operative Party, and the Congress of the Communist Party, so as to speed forward the advance of the people which can now be won.

Commune Day, 1963. R.P.D.

LABOUR MONTHLY FORTY YEARS AGO

GROWTH OF FASCISM

Fascism is now a recognised organisation in Austria, and the Austrian adherents of Mussolini have taken the title of 'Hakenkreuzler' (an anti-Semitic emblem) . . . . the recent murder of a workman, a Social Democrat, by a man named Szabo, a leading 'Hakenkreuzler', shows that the movement is, as it has been declared, not an anti-Semitic one, but directed chiefly against the working class. The method of agitation at present adopted is to break up public meetings or workers' reunions. Pacifist meetings are also attacked. the attitude of the police seems to be one of connivance, as shown by the seizure of the edition of the journal *Der Abend*, which contained an article criticising the 'Hakenkreuzler'.

Unemployment is on the increase; over 140,000 were unemployed in February; those on short time numbered 210,000. In view of these conditions, and the impotence of the Socialists to oppose the tutelage of the League of Nations, which is bound to react on the workers, the ground would seem to be ready for the advent of Fascism as in Italy.

(From 'The World of Labour', *Labour Monthly*, April, 1923)

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THE BEECHING PLAN

Dave Bowman*

IN the British Transport Commission Report, June, 1962, Dr. Beeching, Chairman of the Commission, claimed the whole British railway system must be drastically re-shaped; there must be wholesale closing of rail services and lines and a huge reduction in manpower. Whilst it was stated immediate closures would be effected, Dr. Beeching also said an investigation had started and would be continued into such aspects of railway working as:

Profitability of railway lines and services.
Volume of passenger and freight traffic flow.
Methods of handling traffic, size of consignments and length and speed of transit.
Pattern of flow of all forms of British Transport.

For many months this country has awaited the outcome of these investigations but in good railway style they have been shunted backwards all along the line. First expected in October of last year, they are now complete and in the hands of the Government. There seems little doubt that the above four points will form the main basis of the Beeching Report and this, plus the general line of policy many times expressed by Dr. Beeching, enables a fair forecast to be made of the general content of the Report and the general line of policy suggested arising from the investigations.

Profitability and volume of traffic will form a large part and much play will be made with volume of traffic figures. In passenger traffic, 50 per cent of British Railway route miles (9,000 miles) carry only 4 per cent of the passengers, and in freight, 50 per cent of the goods are carried on 5 per cent of the route mileage. These seem formidable figures but this does not only apply to railways. In the Ministry of Transport document 'The Transport Needs of Great Britain in the Next Twenty Years' published a few weeks ago, it appears British Roads are in precisely the same position.

> Both on Road and Rail, demand is very heavily concentrated on a relatively small part of the network. . . . In railways 95 per cent of total traffic is carried on 50 per cent of the system . . . a similar degree of concentration on the main roads with 95 per cent of all road traffic on only 50 per cent of the roads.

If the profitability and volume of rail traffic argument is continued in the Report, as it has in a number of the Beeching speeches, it

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will raise a very black future for many areas in rail passenger transport.

Investigations have been made on the basis of 'Thousands of Passengers per week'. If it were suggested that all lines carrying five thousand passengers and less per week were to close, the result would be to close almost every Branch line in Britain. If the next highest figure, ten thousand a week, is taken (this was the figure Scottish closures were based on and one much quoted in the national press) it would result in: no railways in Wales, except in the Cardiff-Swansea area; no railways in Scotland, north of Perth and Aberdeen; one main line only in Devon and Cornwall, the same in East Anglia; and one main line would serve the East Coast north of York and the West Coast, north of Manchester and Leeds. That certainly would be re-shaping the railways.

No doubt also, financial results will be produced to endorse the suggestion that smaller lines must close. In 1960 passenger traffic failed to cover costs by £4·3 million. Fast and semi-fast trains gave an excess of receipts over costs of £24·6 million; suburban trains £3·4 million, but stopping services had a loss of £32·3 million. (Note: 40 per cent of total passenger mileage is run by stopping trains.)

Closures may also be argued for, because of the much larger volume of alternative means of public and personal travel. The rise in road traffic is very great already, but note must be taken of the Ministry of Transport Document 'Transport Needs of Great Britain in the Next Twenty Years' which estimates by reliable methods that the British 'car fleet may be in the range of 12-13 million' by 1970, rising to 16-18 million by 1980. (Is there a future for the pedestrian?) The passenger closures pill will be well sugared and while suggesting thousands of services and lines close, suggestions for increased trains on the more profitable routes will be made. More Pullman trains (with of course supplementary fares), more sleeping car trains and more 'crack' expresses between the densely populated centres. The total effect of this line of argument to re-shape passenger travel, can only mean more services for the people in large towns. Between large towns, for those living in rural areas and smaller towns and for people who wish to travel there, railways will disappear as a form of transport.

In an effort to allay the fears of millions of people in areas where railways will close, it will be stated that discussions with omnibus groups have already taken place and will continue, in all regions, regarding alternative transport. (It will not add that should the

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winter of 1962-63 be repeated in the future, the people who will depend entirely on road services should be wished the best of luck.)

On freight carrying, the railway's share is declining fast and very fast in relation to its percentage of total inland transport. There is no doubt where the real cause lies—traffic flow from rail to roads. The following table shows the great upward trend in road motor vehicles for goods transport:

Road Licences	'A'	'B'	'C'
1948	99,000	55,000	591,000
1954	94,000	65,000	942,000
1961	115,000	70,000	1,254,000

This really phenomenal rise in 'C' Licences (firms who carry their own goods) plus the private car rise is the reason for the road blocks and the colossal death and accident figures on British roads. But what really worries Dr. Beeching, and even more dangerous on the roads, is the loss of heavy traffic from rail to road. The heaviest flow of railway freight is in basic commodities: coal and coke, iron and steel and associated raw materials:

	Coke and Coal	Mineral	General Merchandise
1948	158,000,000	59,000,000	56,000,000
1954	173,000,000	63,000,000	47,000,000
1961	146,000,000	54,000,000	38,000,000

In livestock there has been a catastrophic fall (due in some measure to closures already effected in rural districts). In 1948, 259,165 wagons of livestock were handled and in 1961, this dropped to 73,578. As in passenger traffic, so in freight. Receipts in real values have fallen.

The freight closures pill will also be sugared with suggestions of new freight carrying methods. *In coal traffic,* concentration at both colliery and destination area ends will be based on full train loads from collieries to terminal points, and then from the terminal points radial road transport, thus cutting out literally thousands of stations for coal distribution. (It is to be hoped the weather keeps fine.) *More 'Condor' trains,* based on the payment for a full truck load between densely populated centres. (Already 'Condors' run between Glasgow and London, Glasgow and Birmingham.) *Liner trains* by which firms can hire a whole train and even paint it in their own colours.

The main principle in railway freight working will follow the passenger pattern. Concentration will be in the big population centres and based on profit. Rural areas and smaller towns will rely almost exclusively on the road radial system from rail terminal points. I

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have no doubt the freight transport lessons of January and February of this year, where hundreds of roads all over the country were blocked for days, will be passed over with scarcely a comment.

If Dr. Beeching tries to blame the Government, who brought him from Imperial Chemical Industries to the British Transport Commission, to do just this job, such a shunting of responsibility will deceive no one. The investigations from the start, as has been pointed out many times by leading railway trade union officials such as Sidney Greene, General Secretary of the N.U.R., have been conducted on the basis that all railways must be profitable; closures and redundancy accepted; a higher rate of exploitation (single-manned locomotives and dual working by traffic men) of railway workers necessary! Contraction of the railway system and the transfer of traffic from railways to roads is taken for granted and only what parts of the railways to be kept open is being considered. This whole conception is diametrically opposed to the principle of the transport resolutions unanimously carried at the last Labour Party Conference and the Trades Union Congress: the principle of an integrated transport system taking into consideration the best methods of transport for all areas and not one based entirely on the profit motive.

For months now the national newspapers have played a 'guessing game' on the Beeching Report. Frightening figures of the extent of the closures and the size of railway redundancies have been published. This period has ended. It is now clear what is at stake is the survival of the British railway system as we know it, providing a service for the nation. No one would disagree for a moment with the Beeching proposals for extension of passenger and freight traffic. The new 'crack' expresses and fast 'Condor' freights will be welcome, but not at the expense of mass railway closures.

Now is the time for the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress to act on their stated transport policy. Can the Labour Party call for a mass lobby of Parliament to press the Government to repudiate the closure principles of the Beeching Report? Can the T.U.C. organise mass demonstrations of the nine million members in defence of nationalised railways? These are the key questions for the labour movement. No doubt the rail unions to whom this is a bread and butter question will react quickly. Spontaneous action may arise in the Districts and national action may be taken. But it is the nation's railways that are at stake and the fight is not of the railway workers alone.

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BOYLE OR BURNHAM

Michael Robinson

THREE hundred years ago Robert Boyle discovered that if you increased the pressure on a gas you decreased its volume. Today Edward Boyle is trying to do precisely that to our educational system, for the Tory Government is desperately concerned at the increased volume of supply and demand for education. Anyone who does not accept dialectical explanations of changes or who pretends that class struggle does not exist, would be hard put to it to explain the present situation in which the country finds itself. We lick productivity stamps and read of lords and bishops addressing mass meetings of the 1963 Education Year Campaign, and now we face walk-outs in schools and a hostile confrontation of the Tory Government and the teachers and local education authorities.

To judge from the press one might conclude that the Rates rise was entirely the teachers' responsibility, and that the Minister was backing them up in their total salary award, while trying to get the older and more experienced teachers a fairer deal. Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact the Government, having just committed itself to an increase in the defence bill, is using the teachers as a test block for the imposition of such salary and wage awards as will allow for the new weapons. We have seen it all before. Since 1919, the Burnham Committee, a national committee representing teachers and local education authorities, has determined the salaries of teachers. The hundred and forty-six education authorities of England and Wales are represented by their organisations. The teachers were, until these negotiations, represented on the teachers' panel by a majority of National Union of Teachers representatives, Association of Teachers in Technical Institutes members (Affiliated to N.U.T.), and the Grammar School Joint Four (masters, mistresses, headmasters and head mistresses). After the collapse of the N.U.T. in the 1961 salary battle which was followed by David Eccles' departure to the lords and Boyle's induction as Minister, Boyle placed the National Association of Schoolmasters and the National Association of Head Teachers upon the committee. As the N.A.S. opposes equal pay, and some head teachers have recently called for salaries to be decided by Lady Albemarle and Sir Harry Pilkington, it is clear this addition is scarcely helpful to the smooth working of the committee.

The post second world war Act of 1944 established unified

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national scales regardless of type of school or area, and 1956 saw equal pay established in principle even though it was 1961 before it was established in practice. Just as the inter-war period brought the loss of a non-contributory pension scheme, the imposition of a 10 per cent salary cut in 1931 and unemployment among teachers—graduate and non-graduate—so the post-war period has seen the raising of superannuation contributions from 5 to 6 per cent, the loss of more than 10 per cent of the effective purchasing power of salaries due to inflation, and the steady increase of above-scale payments at the expense of the primary schools and the basic scale. In spite of all this the teachers, and the local authorities, achieved big improvements in the schools both before and after the war. They reorganised the system to provide secondary schools for all; pioneered better buildings, comprehensive schools and new teaching methods, in spite of the tremendous problems of the post-war bulge; so that every year the number of children voluntarily staying over 15 years of age rises and the number gaining the raised standards of 'O' and 'A' level of the General Certificate of Education grows. It is true to say that every progressive development has originated among teachers or local authority personnel and has at first faced hostility from the Ministry whose influence has been to inhibit progress. Since Ministry sponsorship of the Combined Local Authority School Planning Committee, the Minister has savagely cut all school building programmes. The situation is slightly different in salary affairs. Special allowances were introduced for teachers taking advanced level work, and since then there has been a steady increase in these above-scale payments, until some teachers can receive more in such payments than other teachers are receiving as a basic minimum. In practice the bulk of these payments go to teachers in secondary schools, so that the primary schools have found staffing increasingly difficult, as men have left to get allowances and the loss of women teachers through early marriage has increased. In fact, the present recommended award by the Burnham Committee is the first award to give equal all-round increases to the basic scale since 1955. The amount involved, £22 million, was so small that only equal distribution would give even recognisable increases to the basic scale. The increases were agreed after nine months of negotiation on the Burnham Committee and are to run for two years, until 1965! The Ministry's representative sat in on all meetings and said nothing at all; then announced his rejection of the scales and asked the Burnham Committee to redistribute the amount in favour of other and more experienced teachers. The Committee refused

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'to rob Peter to pay Paul', particularly as young teachers at 21 were taking home under £10 a week. The Minister now threatens to pay the increases, distributed as he sees fit, by law, and abolish the present negotiating machinery. Eccles' threat to do this led the teachers to give up their struggle in 1961 and the threat to give the matter to the National Incomes Commission in January led them to accept £22 million. So we move from blackmail to dictation.

There is talk of a major review of salary structure following legislation and this will attempt to turn back any advances made in the history of Burnham. To undermine equal pay, to separate primary and secondary teachers, to separate class teachers from heads of departments and Head Teachers. These trends will hold back the educational advance which is essential if we are to expand. The ending of the 11 plus, primary classes of 30, full secondary education of all to 16, demand a great increase in teachers and the terrible truth is that in spite of expansion of training colleges, the conditions in schools are such that recruitment only just exceeds losses. We need 100,000 teachers to achieve the targets of the 1944 Act which the labour movement fought so hard to get on to the statute book. The Tories do not want this Act implemented. They want a class policy more naked than at present. And they intend to make the people pay in full. The Block Grant to local authorities, which replaced the percentage grant system is now beginning to take its toll. The costs of education are shared about 60 : 40 between central government and local authorities. While taxation yields higher returns with increased national wealth, rateable values do not rise annually (this year they are making up for it!), so that the rate in the pound must be raised annually. It is estimated that increases of 7s. in the pound are required if the necessary education expansion is to go forward to 1965. It is clear that the central government must pay more and it has been calculated that a 6 per cent rise is necessary annually. 'Neddy' is only reckoning on a 4 per cent annual productivity rise, so teachers are singled out as the first section to have a dose of Tory planning. Other public employees may well follow. The right to negotiate salaries with your employers without government dictation is a fundamental right which must be defended. Its loss is economic fascism. The teachers must fight with every weapons to maintain this right. They need help from every section of the labour movement to fight for a democratic educational system; an education worthy of the new world we are struggling to attain for our children.

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A MESSAGE FOR ALDERMASTON

Diana Collins

SOME of us who have done the Aldermaston March for many years, may be wondering whether it really gets us anywhere. I am absolutely convinced that it is more important than ever; it is the one opportunity we have of demonstrating the determination and growing strength of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. During one of the earlier marches I stood with an M.P. watching the march go by, and he turned and said 'Whenever I see all those feet going down the road, I think "there go so many votes" '. A General Election is near and all M.P.s are watching out for votes; they should be made more conscious than ever of the strength of C.N.D.

I have just completed a tour of America and Canada, and wherever I went, from one side of the Continent to the other, I met groups of people who had heard of and been inspired by the Aldermaston marches; it has become, along with our badge, the most widespread world symbol of peace. This year there are marches taking place all over Europe, all over the North American continent, and in many other countries. Aldermaston has been and is their inspiration. There is a real hope in this growing international movement of ordinary people who loathe nuclear weapons, the Cold War and the arms race, and who only ask for peace to get on with all the exciting and constructive tasks that wait for Homo Sapiens.

Our increased emphasis upon constructive alternatives to nuclear policies; our support for the attack upon world hunger, which are such a feature of this year's march, are signposts along the road that can lead to a tolerable future for mankind.

'In a world contemplating a future in which the expansion of its population may outrange its food supplies . . . two possible effects of over-exposure to radiation, namely diminished fertility and shortening of the lifespan, might not be altogether to be deplored.'

(*Sir Ernest Rock-Carling, Atomi*

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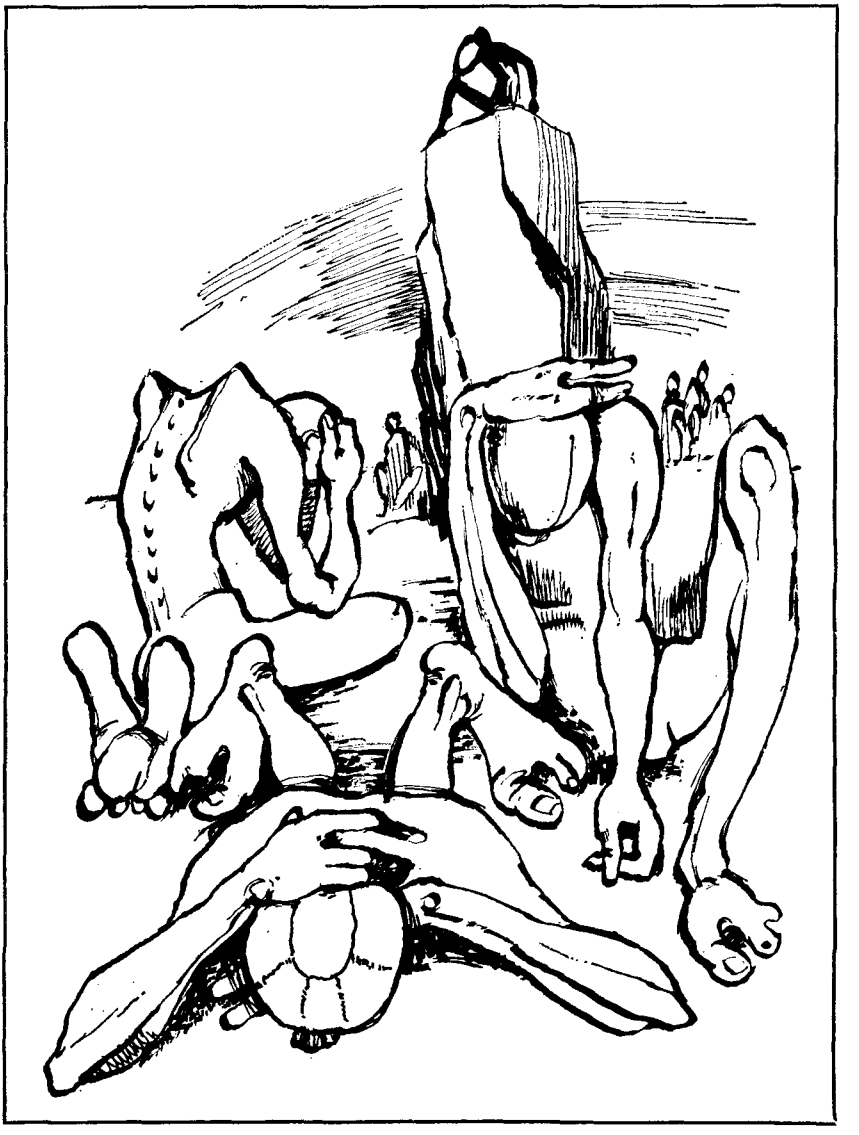
SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST



'To the non-geneticist it appears that for the benefit of the race as a whole in the future, one mutation which results in an Aristotle, a Leonardo, a Newton, a Pasteur, an Einstein, might well outweigh ninety-nine that led to mental defectives.'

Conference, Geneva, August, 1955)

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BATTLE FOR JOBS: 'PROSPEROUS' AREAS

W. Warman*

[*Amongst the many thousands who decided to visit Parliament for the vast mass Lobby on March 26, were not only delegates from the slump-ridden North but also from the so-called 'prosperous areas'. Hence the motor workers, electrical industry workers, railwaymen and aircraft workers from the Midlands, described below, together with a glimpse of the battle in Yorkshire.—Ed.*, L.M.]

The press has been talking of the 'prosperous' South and Midlands and of the slump-ridden North. True, the North has been more seriously affected up to the present, but these last few months have seen a serious worsening in the Midlands. Places like Coventry and Smethwick now have an unemployment figure higher than the national average, and if it were not for the continuous fight waged against redundancy, the position would be very much worse. Thousands of workers on short time throughout the district would have been sacked if it had not been for the opposition put up by them against dismissals.

The list of closures and bankruptcies in the Midlands shows the worst economic situation since the end of the war. In the last eighteen months some twenty-two factories and depots have closed down or announced large-scale redundancies.† Over 15,000 workers at such plants alone have been declared redundant, with few weeks' pay at best to compensate men and women for the loss of years of livelihood.

The latest report of the Midlands Regional Board for Industry shows that there were 17,238 vacancies compared with 37,650 unemployed —two men for every job, some of them extremely low-paid jobs at that. The chairman of the Board, Major C. R. Dibben, saw 'no indication, and little grounds for hope, that the trends that have persisted through most of this year, will be reversed. In the absence of Government action to stimulate demand, the lack of confidence is likely to persist'. In a recent speech, Mr. C. E. Harrison, president of the Federation of British Industries at a Conference in Birmingham, said: 'If we are to achieve the rate of growth of which our economy is capable, it will not be sufficient merely to rely upon the effect of a slowly expanding export trade and a reversal of the de-stocking movement'. Both are of course

*As many of our readers will know, W. Warman is District Secretary of the Sheet Metal Workers and Coppersmiths.

†For example, *Birmingham Area:* Mulliners, Singers, Eccles Caravans, Ariel Motors, Norton Motors, R. T. Shelley, Bellis & Morcom, Excelsior Motors, Birmingham Carr. & Wagon Co., Metropolitan-Cammell, G.E.C. Lando Street, Birmingham Rail Depot, Bromsgrove Railshops, Deloro Stellite. *Coventry Area:* Gloster Whitworth, G.E.C. Communications, Lea Francis. *Wolverhampton and Black Country Area:* Jensens, Hills West Bromwich, British Cycle, Smethwick & Wolverhampton Railshops. *Stoke Area:* British Aluminium—Minton.

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expressing merely the concern of Big Business interests and are careful not to challenge or criticise the Tory Government. The facts are that it has long been a definite policy of the Tories to create a pool of unemployment, and which has been endorsed by the Federation of British Industries themselves. The object is twofold; firstly, to enable them to keep prices down; to stop any demands for wage increases, and make the workers compete with one another for fewer and less well-paid jobs. Secondly, they hope that the fact of large numbers of unemployed at the factory gates will put a damper on militancy inside.

In the battle now being waged at Whitworth-Gloucester by the sheet metal workers against redundancy, the company were forced to concede short time after a struggle; but they claimed that it was uneconomic, and would only agree to it being in operation for twelve weeks, and then issued redundancy notices. The sheet metal workers, who had never accepted such a claim, stopped work. Only one week later it was announced that the Whitworth-Gloucester had secured a new contract from the government for transport planes. Had the company no inkling that there was a strong possibility of the contract in the offing? It would be hard to find a worker who would believe that.

Right-wing theorists of the labour movement have been trying to justify their arguments that capitalism is no longer what it used to be and socialism is 'out-of-date' by the myth of the 'Welfare State' or 'Affluent Society'. With this argument they have consistently tried to destroy the socialist basis of the labour movement, and have therefore weakened sections of workers in their struggles against Tory Policy. What happens to their phoney solutions now? The 'stable labour force', and 'guaranteed wage' disappear as soon as stagnation sets in and unemployment grows.

The time has come for us to tell these people, who under the guise of a 'free enterprise society' have, by their selfish manoeuvres, led our country to the brink of disaster, that we shall not allow them to go on with this sort of thing. They tell us that our economic problems are the result of happenings over which they have no control, and that we must consider them as 'Acts of God', like floods, earthquakes and hurricanes. This is a lie and they know it. The Tory Government and Big Business, because of their remorseless drive for bigger and bigger profits, are the reasons for the present situation, nothing else. The millions spent on armaments each year for the defence of private enterprise—they call it the 'free world'—is just one contributing factor to our country's economic problems, leading to a one-sided, unbalanced economy; it is rapidly destroying the myth that 'war means work'. More millions spent than ever before, and unemployment on the increase. Affluence, indeed!

All the struggles taking place up and down the country need to be linked up; and it is urgent. Motor workers, aircraft workers, must join with the railwaymen against the government's policy. We need the biggest mass demonstrations that this country has ever seen, and the widest possible unity of the people, in opposition to Tory and Big Business interests. In the forefront we should demand the resignation of this government and a General Election without delay. We need nationalisation of motors, steel and road transport. We need a fully integrated policy for all transport, designed to

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make the best possible use of our railways to serve, not Mr. Marples and Mr. Beeching, but the interests of the people, to relieve chaos and overcrowding of our roads. A shorter working week is even more urgent.

Important demands were put forward by the Midland Regional Advisory Committee of the Trades Union Congress, at the end of February, that the T.U.C. should investigate automation, mergers in industry and the 35-hour week. Their spokesman, Mr. J. L. Jones, regional secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, said: 'Unemployment has gone up by 25,000, a 50 per cent increase in the last month, largely due to mergers and technical developments'. He went on to point out that in the motor industry in the past five years, production had doubled with the same labour force. In one engine assembly plant in Coventry, 300 men were producing what 900 would have done previously. A car paint plant in Birmingham employed twelve men and coped with work previously done by a hundred. He said that the chemical industry could increase its output by 20 per cent without increasing its labour force; and it was similar in steel, rubber, rayon, building, gas and transport. The Advisory Committee felt a solution lay in a shorter working week, without loss of pay, and urged a 35-hour week.

Increased wages are an absolute essential to maintain the purchasing power of the home market sufficiently to keep the factories working. We must also insist on the restriction of all unnecessary overtime and the employment of people who are now signing on at the Labour Exchanges. All restrictions of trade with the socialist countries should be ended and credit assistance given to the newly developed countries. Britain should aim for a market of 2,000 million people, not merely the 200 million in Europe. Finally, we need immediate cuts in the huge armaments policy, and a production not for war but for lasting peace.

From Yorkshire

Nero fiddled whilst Rome burned. There is no evidence that he fanned the flames. The Tory Government, however, are more modern than he, using policies to spread the fire of economic crisis, a condition endemic to capitalism. That is why there needs to be built the widest most effective force, to turn these policies aside and ensure the sacking of the modern Nero lot.

Yorkshire is not only the largest county in England, it is also one of diversified industries; but not in all the county. In West Yorkshire, the county. In West Yorkshire, the wool industry is still dominant with many ancilliary industries resting on it. Here sections have been in the doldrums for a long time, as, for example 'my own' industry, machine card tenting, which has been suffering from short-time working for over three years. Rotherham is predominantly a steel town, Sheffield of steel and heavy engineering. Steel has been in trouble for many months with short-time working and redundancy. Now that heavy engineering has also entered into trouble, memories of the dread days of the 'thirties are very keen in these two heavy industrial cities. Doncaster is the centre of one of Britain's most productive coalfields and not threatened by closures on any large scale; rather it is thought of as an expanding field. But the surplus labour force created

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by the operation of the Robens' policy in other coalfields is undoubtedly a great additional pressure of which the Coal Board is not unmindful in negotiations; and 1,000 school leavers at Christmas were unable to find jobs. Leeds is reputedly a city with ninety-nine industries. Yet well over 6,000 unemployed are signing on there from all industries.

Wool textiles and clothing are preponderately women's industries, employing thousands of women in Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, Halifax and the Spen Valley Areas. Though the Labour Exchanges are now amongst the busiest industries, one wonders how much busier they would be if all women not able to find 'gainful employment' had been paying their full insurance contributions whilst working and so entitled to present themselves for unemployment pay now. We have also to note that many hundreds of coloured people have made their home amongst us during recent years. A most cursory glance at the growing queues at the Exchanges impresses one with the fact that a very much larger proportion of these workers are unemployed than others.

In this situation the great national lobby and demonstration on March 26 needed to be a great focal point of as wide a section of people as it was humanly possible to make it. The Yorkshire Federation of Trades Councils was the leading and co-ordinating body in Yorkshire seeking to bring this about. Some examples: in Sheffield, every major factory decided to send representatives, as did many trade union organisations; Leeds Trades Council officially decided to send fourteen delegates, eight of them Council members, the remaining six unemployed; this apart from as many others as money could be raised for their journey. The unemployed delegates were elected at a meeting of unemployed called by the Trades Council, after distributing leaflets at Labour Exchanges. Cable Covers (Leeds) workers elected two delegates whose expenses were met by the management. Leeds University students not only sent two delegates but also collected money for the Trades Council to finance other delegates. Huddersfield Trades Council elected ten delegates straight away and aimed to fill a double decker bus. Rotherham Trades Council chose to be represented by its president, secretary and the prospective Labour parliamentary candidate. Scarborough elected six railwaymen; and the first three delegates chosen in Barnsley were railwaymen.

A very significant point. In many areas, in addition to electing delegates from the labour movement and the factories, attention was paid to ensuring that finance was raised for unemployed workers to be on the march. Thus the living and so necessary unity between employed and unemployed, with the labour movement as the core, could be visible on the demonstration to all who see it. Above all, it must be made visible to the Tory Government, to teach them that their disastrous policies will not be tolerated; that their tenure of office is short; and that, unlike their predecessors, they are not dealing with the unemployed alone, but with a united force led by the mighty labour movement. This can, should and must become one, embracing the whole people.

JACK MAUDE, *Halifax.*

(*Writing of course in a personal capacity, he is a member of the Executive of the Yorkshire Federation of Trades Councils, and also a member of the Yorkshire District Committee of the Communist Party*).

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WHAT ARE WE HERE FOR, MR. WOODCOCK?

'Vulcan'

HALF a year onward from the Blackpool Trades Union Congress, with its approval of participating in 'Neddy' and of reviewing trade union structure, is also half a year onward to the next T.U.C. at Brighton. Here we are then, at the half year mark, and have we progressed towards 'planning economic development'? Towards 'streamlining trade union structure to meet modern needs'?

As always, the heart of the question in a class society is: what sort of planning and on whose behalf? To meet exactly what, and whose, modern needs is the structure of the workers' organisations to be streamlined? The promises and performances of 'Neddy' (National Economic Development Council) are dealt with elsewhere in this number. Here we look at what progress, if any, has been made by the General Council to prepare some sort of report for the 1963 T.U.C. on the trade unions.

The terms of reference, within which the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the General Council have begun gingerly to examine the question, were those of the resolution moved at Blackpool by the Union of Post Office Workers stating that

> it is time the British trade union movement adapted its structure to modern conditions. It instructs the General Council to examine and report to the 1963 Congress on the possibility of reorganising the structure of both the T.U.C. and the British trade union movement with a view to making it better fitted to meet modern industrial conditions.

In recommending Congress to accept this resolution, its Secretary, Mr. George Woodcock, expressed the view, with demonstrative caution, that it would take a long time. He thought that in the first year they would be able only to report on the results 'of enquiring among ourselves into the purpose of trade unions and the effect of changes in circumstances upon trade union purpose and function'. He said, with perfect truth, 'Structure, particularly in the trade union movement, is a function of purpose . . . when we know what we are here for, then we can talk about the kind of structure that will enable us to do what we are here for'. Now, that is putting first things first; there is a lot more in it than meets the eye, and it is by

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no means generally accepted as the truism that it would appear. When the Finance and General Purposes got themselves finally sitting round the table, they did well to ask themselves, in the words with which Woodcock made the headlines at Blackpool: 'What are we here for?' Having barked their shins on the skeleton of opposed purposes not to be brought into the light of day, it was inevitable that they should turn aside to the more familiar topic of whether problems of amalgamation were insuperable or not.

That is not new. A tendency to narrow it down only to for and against amalgamation, has always bedevilled discussion of the main issue: democracy, leadership and the destination towards which the movement should travel. The giants who are benevolently in favour of others amalgamating with them, but horrified at the thought of sharing out their own sections with other societies, are over-sensitive on the subject of amalgamation. So also are those midgets who are more easily led to amalgamate their overdrafts than others their bank balances, as Ernest Bevin used to say cheerfully, from the security of his giant's castle at the Transport and General Workers. Preoccupation with how instead of whither has come in the past from the extreme right wing, whose main concern is to resist pressure from any quarter and at all costs to go nowhere at all; their criterion is whether amalgamation, or any proposal, at a particular moment would tend to shore up the private profit system of moribund monopoly to ensure that it lasts their time. On the other hand, sometimes the progressive left-wing society, impatient for socialism in their time, favouring the strength of numbers, and cutting out overlapping, may concentrate on methods and take destination all too much for granted. Thus it is that defenders and opposers of 'streamlining' may be found side by side and face to face, prepared to concentrate on structure, and how essential it is to change or preserve it.

It is more difficult to get frank discussion in the Higher Regions on the delicate question of purpose posed by Woodcock. He may aim to be the tactician which Bevin claimed to be and Citrine undoubtedly succeeded in being whilst still on the workers' side of the table, but what Woodcock may be keeping under his hat is less important than the question he has posed.

To illustrate what the Finance and General Purposes Committee would be up against when they seriously got down to the job, take a look first at the practical problems of purpose, before turning to problems of changing structure. To answer, innocently or not so

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innocently, 'We are here to defend our members' interests', does not take us far. For example, it would have to be considered whether it would be more to the engineers' interests to sit on productivity councils or fight to lift artificially created obstacles to trade with expanding economies, like those of the socialist countries. Whether to allow public services to be destroyed and whole areas laid derelict, confining leadership to the function of inducing members to accept mobility and redundancy payments on the plea that any other course is 'uneconomic'. Whether to negotiate national wage agreements and at the same time discipline works' shop stewards, and for leading action to get enhanced workshop rates. Whether to accept wage restraint on the grounds that it might win foreign markets and keep going the balance of payments, unbalanced by vast arms expenditure. Whether to work for fullest confidence and closest working between the lads on the workshop floor and the national officials, or to keep them at arm's length, on the plea of it being more efficient to 'leave it to the leaders'. Whether to have frequent and democratic conferences, elected officials, full democratic rights to vote and be voted for if in good standing, or to maintain bans and proscriptions. And finally, to decide whether it advances the interests of members to make unions 'schools of socialism' and seek every opportunity to end, not to patch up, the capitalist economic and social system.

All these are real life questions of purpose. If these and similar questions were not in the minds of the members of the Finance and General Purposes Committee, they should have been. The plain truth is, that progress towards unifying the sections of the working-class movement can only be on class lines, with a class purpose of early defeat of this system and rapid achievement of socialism. Suppose that were agreed and accepted as the main purpose; the membership roused to campaign for it; and those with one hand on the brake and the other signing contracts for television appearances and services rendered to the press, removed from office. Would there still be practical problems in streamlining the structure? Yes, and they would be formidable still, but not insurmountable. Take only one aspect of structure, increasing amalgamations.

It must of course be remembered that quite a lot has already been found possible and more is under way. It depends upon historical factors and also on technical changes, as well as similarity of purpose. Changes in technique, however, can create differences as well as remove distinctions between crafts and sections. Yet the

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boilermakers, blacksmiths and shipwrights now moving towards organisational unity—possibly only just before the storm, in the teeth of which the most stubborn might well make for the nearest port—had tried and failed forty years ago when times were bad. There are moves in Print; in Building, where changes in technique make many distinctions between old crafts meaningless; and Engineering, if you can call it a single industry, is another immensely tricky flashpoint. As indeed are Transport, Railways and Others.

Again, the problem of democratic control, relations between leadership and members, and between one section and another, obviously will vary between federations of craftsmen and groupings of widely diversified general workers ('from midwives to grave-diggers', to quote Bevin again). Amalgamations will have, for a long time, important effects on relations with outside bodies. With the loss of identity must go the loss inevitably of a number of skilled and experienced negotiators, disregarding the question of the numbers and ambitions, legitimate and otherwise, of officials, not all of which will be solvable by 'natural wastage'. Again, there is almost infinite variety in levels of benefit, contributions, finances, strike pay, wages policy, the degree of democracy in constitutions, and other practical problems.

Glancing at the effect of streamlining on the T.U.C. and the General Council, it is plain that although present anomalies are bad enough, major changes of rules would be required unless these anomalies are to be accentuated beyond all reason. A few examples. Under present Standing Orders, each affiliated society has a right to put forward two resolutions, and two amendments (Rules 23 (c) and (d)). Two societies amalgamating would forfeit half these rights, unless the principle of affiliation by sections was accepted (as has been privately canvassed), which would set several cats among the pigeons. Representation by one delegate per 5,000 members and voting rights of 1 per 1,000 would again mean considerable dislocation and the disappearance of many 'well kent' faces.

When we come to representation on the General Council, we enter the field where anomalies already have reached scandal dimensions. At present the 35 seats are supplied from 19 groups of industries, five of which have three seats each, six being entitled to two seats and eight to one seat only. Group 2 covering Railways, entitled to three seats, includes a smaller total membership than Building or Civil Servants, for example, which are each only entitled to two seats; whilst Group 6, Iron and Steel Trades, and Group 9,

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Cotton, entitled to two seats each, cover less members than Printing and Paper, Public Employees and Non-Manual, with only one apiece. When it comes to the distribution of the seats within the Groups themselves the anomalies are certainly remarkable. No one would suggest that only the giants would be entitled to seats. But the way it has worked out, you would almost suppose either that the Groups were so arranged as to ensure that certain Societies never would be seated; or that Rule 7 (b) strictly prohibiting canvassing or bartering was quite unnecessary, since seats went to certain societies by hereditary right. Within the past ten years, for example, although the personnel has changed, there is only one seat (within the Civil Servants Group) which has changed societies. Yet here are some of the societies which are permanently out in the cold, taking the worst example, in Engineering:

Group 5 Engineering, Founding and Vehicle Building

Three seats: Number of Societies, 26: total membership, 1,652,384.

Represented on the Council: AEU (2 members)	982,182
Patternmakers ...	15,532
Not represented on the General Council include:	
Electricians	252,851
Foundry Workers	72,900
Draughtsmen	70,396
Vehicle Builders	65,667
Metal Mechanics	46,779
Supervisory Staffs	26,826
Constructional Engineers	24,000

Amongst others who are in a state of permanent exclusion are the following:

Public Employees (215,000), Paperworkers (162,952), Furnishing Trades (67,424), Painters (64,836), Typographical Association (59,057), Bank Employees (56,458), Plumbers (55,658), Metal Mechanics (46,779).

Those from small societies and semi-permanent seats include such notables as W. Beard (Patternmakers), Sir Tom O'Brien (Theatrical and Kinematograph), J. O'Hagan (Blast-furnacemen) and Sir Alfred Roberts (Card Blowers). Some of these men would be missed.

A last point: the question of participating in a 'planning' council and the aim of streamlining the unions for some—as yet undecided—purpose are not unconnected. They never have been; they have both come up many times before—and not only in 1944, to which Congress George Woodcock referred. There was 1924, 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1936, just to be going on with. Major occasions for momentous debate of both were the T.U.C. at Swansea in 1928 and at Belfast in 1929. Bevin and Citrine defended the Mond-Turner

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'industrial peace' conferences with employers in terms so similar at points to Woodcock's defence of joining 'Neddy' that it would be hard indeed to say who was speaking when. Only the champion gamester in 'Round Britain Quiz' or 'Does the Team Think?' could sort these:

(*a*) 'A courageous facing up to the responsibilities and realities of modern trade unionism'.

(*b*) 'Are you so scared that you are not prepared to stand by your experience, by your competence and your ability? Are you so modest in all these things that you reject every challenge and reject every opportunity?'

(*c*) 'I ask you to allow the General Council . . . to exhibit a capacity to discuss any subject within the industrial arena on equal terms and . . . with ability equal to any one of the so-called captains of industry on the other side'.

((*a*) and (*c*) Citrine and Bevin defending Mond-Turner, (*b*) Woodcock defending 'Neddy'.)

It would be wrong to suggest that there are no differences: there are many, great and small. Today the proposal for class collaboration does not appear to emanate from the Employers' Confederation, with a certain prompting from the President of the T.U.C., as in the 'twenties. It is the direct proposal of the Tory Government on this occasion, with employers modestly waiting in the wings. The Mond-Turner conferences were buried in the grave of the world economic crisis and mass unemployment. But as for the manipulators behind 'Neddy',

Alas, alas for England
They have no graves—as yet.

The two conceptions of trade unionism which are in conflict today have been clearly analysed thus: *

> The right-wing conception is based on acceptance of capitalism, of co-operation with employers and the government, of the unions exercising disciplinary powers on their members in the interests of industrial peace and of the smooth functioning of the capitalist system and would in effect make the unions pillars of capitalism.
>
> The progressive conception is that the unions are instruments of working class strength and that the aim must be to preserve their independence from all forms of state regulation and from entangling alliances with the employers . . . as one of the most important levers for the transformation of society.

And the latter, Mr. Woodcock, is what *we* are here for.

*Draft Resolution on The Future of Trade Unionism to be submitted to the 28th National Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, April 12-15.

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PLANNING FOR WHAT?

Alan Brown

IF we take the 'Neddy 5-year Plan 1961-66' to run from April to April, we shall be halfway through it in October this year. And there is still no guarantee that by then we shall have been told what major policies it advocates to achieve its aim—an average 4 per cent growth in the economy each year during that period. Progress so far is illuminating. In April, 1961, when there was still no Neddy, the production index (1958=100) stood at 115 (unemployment was 340,000). Eleven months later the National Economic Development Council was set up: production was at 115 (unemployment had risen to 441,790). After another eleven months the 'target' report was published—but still no plan. The latest production figure (December, 1962) was 115, and unemployment had risen to 878,356. The two-part report, published on February 28, gave the results of the Council's inquiry into seventeen selected industries, and discussed the implication for the economy as a whole of a national annual growth rate of 4 per cent ('the 4 per cent case'). No proposals were given, though eight days previously the *Guardian* had jumped the gun, giving not only the targets but some of the back-room boys' proposals as well.

Responsibility for the stagnating production and soaring unemployment during the first years of the 'plan' cannot, of course, be laid at the door of the Council. The villain of the piece was the Government, which had set it up. All the 'planners' could do was to take account of the unpalatable facts. Section K of the report—'Phasing of the Programme'—therefore says that 'Between 1961 and 1962 output increased at less than 2 per cent, so that the annual increase between 1962 and 1966 will have to be rather more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent if the 1966 target is to be achieved'. And if the stagnation continues, the target for the later years will go up again.

In so far as the tasks given to the Council are at all possible under capitalism—to make the full use of the nation's resources and to keep wage increases down to a level acceptable to the employers—they are no pushovers. The first report is thus largely given over to a mass of target figures, pious hopes, and general prognostications. Now comes the rub. The Council has to pronounce the policy measures which can be agreed between the Government, employer and trade union representativs to attain the '4 per cent case'.

To be effective at all, they would have to deal with the basic

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problems which beset Britain's economy at present—such as the depressed areas, the stagnation of production, the failure of exports to rise, and the balance of payments problems. (As regards incomes we are so far told that balance of payments problems 'should prove manageable provided the rise in money incomes and prices can be sufficiently restrained'). What of the problems of depressed areas which *The Times* (March 4, 1963) described as 'among Britain's costliest weaknesses'? They suffer from high unemployment, and blatant under-use of basic industries on which their living depends.

The Council has so far made no attempt to describe how the problem of unemployment is to be solved, although it believes that there must be a reduction (Sir Robert Shone, the chairman, told the press that a 1½ per cent rate—or about 375,000—had figured in their calculations). Mr. Maudling, Chancellor of the Exchequer, has said that a figure of 300,000 would 'lead us back into the difficulties of inflation and balance of payment which we have seen in the past', and the Association of British Chambers of Commerce (January 14, 1963) tells us that the major stimulus needed to bring the total down to that by June 'would create the risk of a sharp rise in labour costs per unit of output . . . and could result in the throwing away of all the fruits of 1962'. Neddy will hardly fly in the face of such august advice. But on the basic industries it gets nearer in its report to current Tory thinking. Paragraph 142 tells us that 'six of the seventeen industries covered by the industrial survey show contractions of manpower *and substantial contractions are expected in other industries such as railways, shipbuilding, aircraft and cotton during the period*' (Emphasis added). In his 1963 New Year Message, Harold Macmillan had spoken about the 'declining' world markets for the products of the coalmining, shipbuilding, heavy engineering and textile industries; while *The Times* (January 31, 1963) declared: 'if traditional industries, shipbuilding, steel, textiles, etc., have surplus capacity, it is no use trying to shore them up needlessly'. But the question is, can we solve the problems of unemployment and the depressed areas by standing back and looking upon the basic industries as 'dying' and not worth 'shoring up'. Do all the trade union members of the Council accept this approach? Do they accept that the problem is 'to assist mobility and to tackle the problems to which redundancy gives rise'? (para. 144). Is that the order of priorities? Or do they believe that there is sufficient need for textiles, steel, heavy engineering products, coal, aircraft and shops so that far from dying, the industries could be thriving?

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Macmillan's line was that 'Today world demand for their products is contracting, partly because of the arrival of new products, partly because developing countries overseas make what they used to buy from us'. Does our labour movement believe that the British people's need for new hospitals, schools, roads, ships, aircraft, fuel and clothing are anywhere near being satisfied—quite apart from the needs of countries overseas? If we are able to export engineering goods to Europe, are Asia and Africa supposed to be self-sufficient? Even the Government cannot say that there is no demand for ships, at least from the Socialist, planned-economy countries.

But to seize the opportunities for supplying increased amounts of goods of all kinds to the British people and to the peoples of the world, means policies which will help make that a fact.

At home it will not happen with the sort of 'incomes policy' the Tories have in mind. It would mean raising living standards—incomes, pensions and other incomes—lowering taxation, and particularly indirect taxation which hits the poorest most. They would need to be planned increases, designed to provide a flourishing home market and full employment to allow the greatest use of our industrial potential. The report says (para. 144) that 'The fear of redundancy acts as a brake on industrial expansion, whether it causes strikes, restrictions, or resistance to change'. The workers will not be fooled—a genuine policy of full employment and rising standards would see them enthusiastic about raising production.

The problems of exports and overseas trade generally would also need new policies, which broke loose from those applied hitherto, and so beloved of the State Department. Trade barriers against the Socialist countries would have to go, and long-term agreements signed with them as also with the underdeveloped countries of the world. Moves among British manufacturers, particularly since the breakdown of the Common Market negotiations, show that many of them have a healthy appreciation of the value of East-West trade. But a greater volume of opinion is needed to build up the necessary pressure. Can we expect the Council to weigh in here, thus attacking one root cause of the problem of the unemployed?

The report deals in some detail with saving in the economy, but it appears satisfied to say that a round figure of £2,000 million for (so-called) defence expenditure in 1966 'must inevitably be an uncertain and controversial figure'. A halved arms bill would be necessary to provide finance for those things which give Britain real strength.

Loans and credits would have to be made available to many of the countries who are in great need of Britain's industrial products.

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Money would be needed for that purpose. And there seems no reason why such credits should be feared, for credits to overseas countries—unlike the provision of arms—helps them to establish industrial economies which in the future would provide the basis for normal two-way trade. So far as home industries are concerned, credits act as a form of Government subsidy to industry, keeping wheels turning and helping end the dole queues.

It will be seen that genuine planning in Britain cannot be of the variety which we have seen previously from Tory stables—dovetailing in with the needs of the monopolists and Tory electoral fortunes. Genuine planning must go to the heart of the problems facing Britain, ignoring the demands of the Cold War and looking to those of the people. If one thing is certain, it is that this was not the reason why the Tories set up the National Economic Development Council. They did not have in mind an independent body which would take a fresh look at the old problems, but rather a body with a veneer of 'impartiality' which would provide a cover under which the Government could continue its old basic policies.

We must wait still further to find just what concrete measures are to be taken to achieve the '4 per cent case', which in itself would be an excellent thing for the British people. Apart from some comparatively minor questions, it does not look as though there will be much in its findings to support the policies of the labour movement.

A journalist commented, at the Press Conference given to launch the February 'target' report that 'We shall have to wait until later to write up the Minority Report'. Perhaps, but is it the role of the British trade union movement to write even Minority Reports on the end of Government-employer policy statements?

Before very long we shall have a General Election, when the Labour Party, with trade union support, ought to be returned to power after 11 years in the wings. Of crucial importance will be how far the left wing, including the growing Communist movement, will be represented in the new majority. Policies will be needed which owe nothing to Tory-employer 'plans', but are based on working class solutions (including further nationalisation to advance towards democratic control over Britain's resources), and formulated by the major organisations of the Labour movement.

If the second course is to be carried out, should not the trade unions be giving all their planning energies to working towards a situation where the final say in determining Britain's future rests not with Macmillan but with the working people?

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STAND BY IRAQ

IRAQ has been turned into a bloodbath since the military coup d'etat in February. Within the first three days over 5,000 men, women and children were killed. Hospitals were overflowing with the thousands wounded. Schools were turned into concentration camps to house the thousands upon thousands of political prisoners whom the existing jails could not possibly accommodate. (Clare Hollingworth of the *Guardian* estimated the prisoners at 15,000.) It is like a modern picture of Hitler's terrorism. How did all this happen?

The new, already discredited, junta could not tolerate the slightest form of opposition. They set out from the start to meet such opposition by mass murder. Within the first few hours they issued their orders to murder over the radio and television—an act unprecedented in history. The 'Order No. 13' said:

> . . . permission is given to commanders of Army units, the police forces and National Guards (*civilians and mostly teenagers*) to annihilate everybody who disturbs the peace (italics *L.M.*).

The order ends by calling on its blood-thirsty supporters to 'help' by informing about these criminals (meaning those who do not support the régime) and to destroy them. The *Sunday Times*, February 14, 1963, commented:

> This sounds like an open incitement to a massacre which would make St. Bartholomew's Day look like a Sunday School picnic.

This is exactly what happened. A reign of terror fell upon Baghdad. Since February 8, reports about the situation smell of nothing but blood and gunpowder. The *New York Herald Tribune* reported on February 16, 1963:

> A correspondent watched troops smash in windows poking sten guns through shattered frames, while others broke down doors and entered buildings to ferret out enemies of the regime.

The *Guardian* in its editorial on February 20, said:

> In the oversimplified terms generally used, 'nationalists' have been killing off 'Communists' by the score or the hundred: the fortunate are those who have been shut up.

One can only add that the killing is by the thousand. Those shut up are not so fortunate: some are murdered and tortured to death.

The new clique is hated by the people, who do not want to replace a dictator by a more brutal one. *Le Monde* (February 16) exposed the unpopularity of the new régime very clearly when it said:

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The new Iraqi revolution is an event without a precedent in the Middle East, in that not a single popular demonstration, however small it may be, has appeared to show support for the new leaders of Iraq.

Mass murder in Iraq is your concern, since human dignity and decency is in danger. Humanity cannot let these crimes pass unopposed in this day and age. The massacres are still in full swing and our people are fighting for their lives. 'The turmoil is likely to go on for some time. I have left behind many hundreds of people for whom the future holds only the firing squad'. This is what Keith Davis reported in the *Express* when he left Baghdad.

You can help. Send telegrams and petitions to the Baghdad Government or to the Chargé d'Affairs, Iraqi Embassy, 21, Queens Gate, S.W.7. Make the facts known to your friends, and ask them to act, but act fast.

IRAQI STUDENTS SOCIETY

DOCUMENT OF THE MONTH

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY

[*At Moshi, in Tanganyika, the third Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Conference was held on February 4-11, 1963. There were present over 400 delegates and observers from nearly 60 countries. (28 were African, 18 Asian, together with Cuba, Malta, and others).*

The Conference discussed the development of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, the problems that confront their peoples and the international situation; decided to convene a Three-Continent Conference of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America; and adopted this Declaration.—Ed., L.M.]

WE HAVE BEEN IMPRESSED with the genuine desire of our peoples to strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity and co-operation on the basis of equality and in the noble spirit of Bandung, in the interests of the struggle for national liberation against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. We have every reason to believe that our great movement is soaring from success to success and from victory to victory. At the same time, however, we are of the firm opinion that more than ever before we need to be vigilant and alert to manoeuvres of the imperialists and colonialists, who seek to sow seeds of discord among us, and to be on our guard against neo-colonialism in all its forms and manifestations.

Having reviewed the political, economic, social and cultural problems of our peoples, we are convinced that the most urgent tasks for all our peoples in the coming year are: intensification of the struggle against

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colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism; maximum contribution towards the speedy liberation of the unliberated areas in Africa and Asia and the formation of a united national front in each country that is not yet liberated and co-ordination of action amongst these different national fronts to make their struggle for independence more effective.

Liberation

Since the convocation of the second Conference in Conakry, a great many events have taken place in the Afro-Asian countries and in the world. The Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples have scored many victories, both at home and on the international field. Independent countries have gained their freedom. Imperialism is being defeated in all parts of the world and, thanks to the continuous struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia and all peace- and freedom-loving peoples in the world, its end is now in sight. The battle for national liberation and sovereignty has gained momentum and reached such a stage that the imperialists have been forced into fighting last ditch battles.

We declare that we regard it as the duty of our governments, our peoples, and liberation movements to render all possible moral and material support to the heroic peoples of those countries which are assailing the bastion of colonialism and imperialism, and struggling for the liquidation of white domination and racial discrimination, and we call upon these freedom fighters and all peace-loving people of the world to see to it that the year 1963 will witness the final and complete collapse of colonialism which has afflicted Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Economic Emancipation

We unanimously declare that opposition to imperialists and colonialists does not lie only in the political field. Political independence is not an end in itself but a beginning. It is the beginning of a further and more difficult battle, namely, the battle for economic emancipation and construction. Great wealth lies at the disposal of our people, riches that have so far been exploited by the imperialists, not for our benefit but for their own purposes. We are now becoming the masters of our own house and we must see to it that it is put in order. We must also see to it that wealth, instead of being used to satisfy desire for power and prestige, should be directed towards the banishment of poverty.

In this respect we call upon the peoples of Africa and Asia to co-operate and to put into practice many resolutions passed by Afro-Asian conferences for economic co-operation and exchange.

Peaceful Co-Existence

We, the peoples of Africa and Asia, believe deeply in peace and are struggling against the imperialist policies of war and aggression and for independence and peace among nations. The struggle for national liberation and national sovereignty is the mighty force for the realisation of peace and disarmament. We are for the banning of testing, manufacturing, stock-piling and using of nuclear weapons and for the total destruction of existing nuclear arms. For the sake of reducing the present dangerous international tension and avoiding a general war, we support the principle of general and controlled disarmament and peaceful co-existence among states of different social systems.

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FROM THE HALLS OF MONTEZUMA

Wilfred Macartney

Along with intensified raiding operations throughout South Vietnam, the United States has repeatedly sprayed noxious chemicals on such a large, densely populated area as Ben Tre province, in an attempt to terrorise the people and force them into concentration camps disguised as 'strategic hamlets'. *Vietnam Bulletin*, March 1963.

GENERAL MARK CLARK's lead into his memoirs, after describing his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of United States forces in Korea and the Truce signature, ends with a lament—'It capped my career but it was a cap without a feather in it. In carrying out the instructions of my Government I gained the unenviable distinction of being the first United States Army Commander in history to sign an armistice without victory'. However, the next sentence breathes a hope which, sinister as it may be, is sincere enough. 'I was thankful the bloodshed had stopped but like millions of other Americans I more than suspected that it all came under the heading of unfinished business. One day the Marines will land again'!

Greedy peoples must have long arms and the skinny arms of Uncle Sam lengthened early in the Republic's history, for Korea was not the first Asian adventure of this so-called Occidental country. 'Peace', said Jefferson, 'is our passion'; but even Napoleon did not covet his neighbour's property more eagerly. Indeed, there is no long-range American policy which is as definitely Jeffersonian as Manifest Destiny. Even before Jefferson, Washington had written a note which will be read wryly today. On December 7, 1796, he wrote to Congress: 'To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a Naval force organised and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression'. Long before Dulles had made 'neutral' a wall writing word, Washington himself and his immediate and more distant successors showed that for the United States neutrality must be on its own terms and its own definition; or in the words of Stephen Decatur 'May my country in dealing with foreign nations be always in the right, but my country right or wrong'. It was this speech and Decatur's bombardment of the Barbary towns of Tunis and Tripoli which inspired L. K. Phillips to write the hymn of the United States Corps of Marines with its second line 'To the Shores of Tripoli'.

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The Barbary states were nominally under the suzerainty of Turkey and being neutral meant for them capturing and holding to ransom any ships which were blown into or entered their territorial waters. Some United States ships suffered for either their presumption or ill fortune in this way, so several Naval expeditions blew across the Atlantic and down the blue Mediterranean fluttering the stars and stripes on their way to release the ships and crew. It flutters there today from the masthead of the Sixth Fleet; the numbers of stars have considerably increased and the stripes made more severe by Polaris, another desperate weapon.

Recently another Tripoli, this time in the Lebanon, was visited by the United States Marines, who landed, turned round and came back again. General Mark Clark's lament about the Korean armistice is not quite true, but one can understand Mark Clark's groan when you think of the luxurious way in which the Americans wage war. Frank Owen* recalls that he became a little uneasy whilst in Korea when he saw the American divisions moving up to the front with an ice-cream parlour followed by a pants-pressing unit, and when a week later this American position was ironed out by a Chinese volunteer division, Owen, fortunately, was not there!

Nearer home the craving, demanding, howling, hungry infant Republic colonised or settled Texas, which was an integral part of Mexico, demanded compensation for alleged damage to United States property, offered to write off the claims if the Mexicans would cede all the territory north of the Rio Grande and sell California to the U.S.A. The Mexicans refused, so President Polk invaded Mexico. Soon 'The Halls of Montezuma' resounded to the heavy tread and heavier curses of the Marines. Unfortunately, for the Mexicans, there was no P.X. in those days, so the invaded had to feed the invaders and, what is more, pay an indemnity. Texas, New Mexico, California and all the rest of the undeveloped West became a part of the land of the free. These adventures were justified by U.S. soldiers and writers, *e.g.*, W. G. Sims to Senator Hammond in 1847: 'You should not protest against military glory, war is the greatest element of modern civilisation and our own destiny is conquest. In fact, the moment a nation ceases to expand its power it falls a victim to a more energetic neighbour. The Mexicans are in the position of those whom the Gods make mad; they seek destruction. They are doing their all to compel us to conquer them, it is now impossible that it should be otherwise'.

*Frank Owen was Editor of the *Evening Standard* 1938-41, Editor of the *Daily Mail* 1947-50, and author of 'Guilty Men'.

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In his introduction to *Patriotic Gore,* the most scholarly and readable of American critics, Edmund Wilson,* comments savagely on these aspects of American history; but even Wilson's indignation at Yankee imperialism does not disclose the full horror of the Philippine annexation and the bloody four-year war that followed the insurrection of its eight million inhabitants, a war in which a quarter of a million U.S. troops and Filippinos died. The original Filippino revolt against Spain was primarily against the Catholic Church who, through its religious orders, owned everything in this heavenly archipelago. The Friars bossed everybody on two feet and owned everything on four, including the land on which both walked. General MacArthur, father of another MacArthur who lamentably is still with us, started concentration camps; at the same time Kitchener and Roberts did the same thing in South Africa. Clio does not tell us who copied who. For the inmates of these camps it was the same end, death from disease and hunger.

Apart from the horrors of the Philippine and South African wars, the years 1898-1902 are almost clinically Marxian. While Lord Lloyd George was being howled and hunted by the jingo mob in Birmingham, the anti-imperialist league in the United States was founded, financed and vigorously directed by, forsooth, Andrew Carnegie† and Mark Hanna, Republican boss. Carnegie spent millions to stop these ghastly adventures. Hanna called Teddy Roosevelt 'that mad cowboy', but Carnegie at this time was sweating his Pittsburg steel workers twelve hours a day, seven days a week, and Mark Hanna was further fouling the already sewer-like stream in United States politics. Why therefore this contradiction between the richest 'working millionaire' in the world and millionaire Randolph Hearst and the chauvinistic mob? In 1898 the United States economy was just working itself out of a crisis cycle slump and Carnegie and some of the rich Republicans thought that foreign adventures would jigger up the coming boom. McKinley, the President, appears from his private correspondence to have been against these forays but was forced by Roosevelt and the jingos to make publicly those ferocious speeches; meanwhile the war raged.

In an off half-hour the United States Marines with others, British and Germans, assaulted and sacked Peking, plundering the fabulous

*Most of the criticisms by the intelligenzia of U.S. policy come from native Americans; the British being more discreet.

†Round about this time Andrew Carnegie sold his steel interests to J. P. Morgan for 500,000,000 dollars (£100,000,000). Morgan commented to Carnegie 'What does it feel like to be the richest man in the world?' Carnegie replied somewhat sourly 'I think I sold it a wee bit cheaply'.

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spoils of its ancient palaces; to this day the treasures are flaunted in museums and private palaces of the so-called Occident. Clio, a mischievous wench, always punning and larking about, found McKinley accepting ravished jades from China in his home town CANTON, Ohio! McKinley was not to enjoy these trophies for long. He, still anxious about war and Cuba, was assassinated by a demented Pole at the Buffalo Exhibition, and Clio, insatiable for the irony, saw to it that his war-like Secretary of State, Hey, should have been Lincoln's Private Secretary, Garfield's personal friend (both assassinated). He was, not unnaturally, known as 'the kiss of death', or more indulgently, 'Hey fever'. The incoming Roosevelt sacked him!

In Kennedy one may sense a similar contradiction between the private Kennedy and the public Jack, as historically appears in McKinley. At the time of the assassination of McKinley, the war continued in the Philippines, but their heroic leader, Emilio Aguinaldo, was captured by the murderous, mercenary Maccabebes. Aguinaldo is still alive, and one can say that in relation to American colonial history, this heroic figure, now over 90, has seen it all.

Today, vicious battles rage at Vietnam; nearly a million men were engaged last year with 55,000 casualties. Thirteen American Generals deploy the forces, including 11,000 troops with many Marine companies. According to *The Times,* January 21, 1963:

> Theoretically these men are not combatants. In a hairsplitting effort to avoid the limit imposed by the 1954 Geneva Agreement on foreign military personnel, all but 160 American Service men are here on 'temporary duty'.

Of the Vietnamese themselves, 5½ million, or nearly 39 per cent of the population, are in concentration camps, so-called 'strategic' hamlets. *The Times* describes them as 'surrounded with bamboo fences and earth ramparts. Some of the larger communities have further refinements, such as a barbed wire fence on top of the rampart, or a moat, also filled with bamboo spikes'. For the construction of these hell-holes, the Americans called for advice from British experts in Malaya.

This almost ignored war could develop into something as ghastly as Korea, for while the United States sea marauders infest the seven seas, peace is likely to be a dim vision and maybe for years to come the last line of the hymn of the United States Marine Corps—*'We have fought in every clime and place where we could take a gun'*—will be sung loudly though discordantly. John Milton, not noticeably a cheek-turner and not wanting 'Paradise Lost' said 'To suffer us to do our strength is equal, nor the law unjust but so ordained'.

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BOOKS

The Age of Revolution—Europe 1789-1848

E. J. Hobsbawm

Weidenfeld and Nicholson. 356 pp. 50s.

DR. HOBSBAWM has an even more exciting theme than that suggested in his title. His book is one in a series, a *History of Civilisation,* and so, while he writes of a 'dual revolution —the rather more political French and the industrial (British) revolution', his narrative is set in a world context: 'if its perspective is primarily European or more precisely Franco-British, it is because in this period the world—or at least a large part of it—was transformed from a European, or rather a Franco-British, base'. The traditional bounds of national or 'European' history are passed and we are never allowed to forget the impact of European revolution on the rest of the world, whether it be Mohammed Ali's Egypt, 'the first non-white state to seek the modern way out of economic backwardness', or the 'major landmark in world history', the systematic de-industrialisation of India to make 'a market for Lancashire cottons', by which the age-old trade relationship between Asia and Europe was reversed.

Dr. Hobsbawm is a Marxist and this is why he has been able to make the most of the opportunity which this theme offers him. Europe in the world is one aspect of the changes he narrates, but change within the change is another: 'the history of the dual revolution is not merely one of the triumph of the new bourgeois society. It is also the history of the emergence of the forces which were, within a century of 1848, to have turned expansion into contraction—the historic period which begins with the construction of the first factory system of the modern world in Lancashire and the French Revolution of 1789, ends with the construction of its first railway network and the publication of the Communist Manifesto'. This idea illuminates the whole block; when economic or political developments are being discussed, the formation of the working-class, the growth of its organisations and its ideas is interwoven into the narrative; among the superbly chosen 102 illustrations there are dramatic pictures of working-class life and of class struggles; when ideology is being discussed, the dialectic of contemporary development is revealed. The chapter entitled 'Science' is a fascinating example.

Anyone who knows the Oxford History of England series of volumes can imagine what this book might have been like; a stodgy mass of facts about political history with tacked on complications of more facts about the economic and 'cultural' aspects. Dr. Hobsbawm covers as wide a range, but he sparks off ideas on every page; theories, interpretations, explanations are mingled intelligently with familiar and with surprising facts; remarkable erudition is born lightly and disciplined to illuminate rather than bemuse the reader. No short review can begin to comment on the richness of ideas which marks this book. It is, perhaps, sufficient to say that the reader, learned or otherwise, will find stimulation and understanding; if he is not sometimes aggravated it will be surprising, for this is one of those rare historical works, which ought to develop fruitful controversy over years and in many directions.

LIONEL MUNBY.

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Politics and Society in India

Edited by C. H. Philips.

George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.
190 pp. 25s.

THIS COLLECTION of articles is the first of a series of studies on modern Asia and Africa. The contributions to this volume on India fall into three categories. There are several articles on political thought in ancient India or in India under Muslim influence which, while historically interesting, give us very little assistance in understanding an India that has passed through the traumatic experience of several hundred years of ruthless exploitation by capitalistic imperialism. There are a few more articles on purely political developments before and after Independence which, by ignoring economic realities, give the reader the sensation of trying to guess what people are doing, from watching the play of their shadows on a wall.

The most useful contributions are those by anthropologists which draw on field studies to show what has happened to caste relationships over the last fifteen years and how the traditionally-organised India at the village level has reacted to the imposition from above of the forms of bourgeois democracy. The evidence seems to indicate that, in spite of liberal sentiments about the elimination of caste written into the Constitution, caste influences have actually been strengthened since Independence. The attempts of foreign rule to manipulate caste allegiances and animosities for its own ends had the effect of discrediting, to some extent, these social groupings. The Independence struggle, which was a genuine mass movement, brought about a further erosion of caste barriers; but in recent years Congress has increasingly made use of caste organisation to bolster up its political fortunes in a period of waning popularity. In Kerala, caste was nakedly exploited as a weapon against a successful Communist administration relying for its support on the poorer peasants and workers. According to these anthropologists Western Bengal is the only state in the Union where caste today plays a minor role in politics.

These field studies also reveal the enormous social cleavage between the middle class who rule and the common people. The politician cannot reach his electorate: the voters cannot communicate with their politicians and administrators: the gap is bridged by political brokers and their network—that is, by the buying and selling of special privileges and benefits at the grass-roots level. As an example of what is happening in many parts of India, Orissa is quoted, where up to 1947 the State Assembly reflected a major division between the rentier class supporting British rule and the peasants led by Congress politicians. 'By 1956 . . . Congress leaders healed the breach between themselves and the rentier class and important individuals in the rentier class were given Congress tickets'.

This analysis throws particular light on the basic problems confronting the newly independent states, although the authors offer no solution. For such a solution can only be achieved by carrying forward the democratic revolution against imperialism and feudal survivals, for full economic and political independence from imperialism, and in this way prepare the advance, as the example of Cuba has shown, to the transition of socialism.

WILLIAM ASH.

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